

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 EA-13 ADP-00 SS-14 NSC-10 NSCE-00 CIAE-00

INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 ACDA-10 GAC-01 MBFR-02 L-02

PM-03 H-01 PRS-01 USIA-04 NEA-06 SAJ-01 TRSE-00 RSR-01

EB-03 AEC-05 IO-03 OMB-01 /103 W
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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 227

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 2990

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION OECD PARIS

USNMR SHAPE

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 2561

E. O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: THE FORTHCOMING MINISTERIALS

LIMDIS

POLICY

FOR SECRETARY ROGERS AND ACTING SECDEF CLEMENTS FROM
AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD

BEGIN SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE EXPRESSES MISSION VIEWS ON
FORTHCOMING DPC (JUNE 7) AND NAC (JUNE 14-15) MINISTERIAL
MEETINGS, AND WHAT US COULD SEEK TO ACHIEVE IN THOSE MEETINGS.
AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE " YEAR OF EUROPE" SPEECH OF
APRIL 23 AND THE PRESIDENT' S FOREIGN POLICY REPORT OF MAY 3,
THERE ARE FOUR INTERRELATED SUBJECTS WHICH COULD BE ADDRESSED:

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-- A NEW DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES;

-- THE DEVELOPMENT OF OR PROGRESS TOWARD AN ALLIED
SUBSTANTIVE POSITION ON ACCEPTABLE MBFR OUTCOMES;

-- THE IMPORTANCE OF IMPROVING CONVENTIONAL MILITARY FORCES
AND DISCUSSION OF SPECIFIC PROPOSALS;

-- THE NEED TO ACHIEVE A MORE EQUITABLE SHARING OF THE
DEFENSE BURDEN AND DISCUSSION OF SPECIFIC PROPOSALS.

DURING BOTH SETS OF MEETINGS, US REPRESENTATIVES COULD SEEK
TO ACHIEVE ALLIED AGREEMENT ON FOUR KEY ISSUES:

-- THE NEED TO IMPROVE ALLIED CONVENTIONAL DEFENSE
CAPABILITIES;

-- THE NEED TO ACHIEVE A MORE EQUITABLE SHARING OF THE
DEFENSE BURDEN WITH EMPHASIS ON EUROPEAN FORCE IMPROVEMENT AND
TO ELIMINATE ANY BOP DISADVANTAGE THAT ACCRUES TO THE US FROM
MEETING ITS NATO OBLIGATIONS;

-- A SCHEDULE FOR ACHIEVING AN ALLIANCE POSITION ON
ACCEPTABLE MBFR OUTCOMES AND A SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION OF THE
SUBJECT;

-- THE MEANS AND TIMING FOR DEVELOPING A NEW DECLARATION
OF PRINCIPLES ON ALLIANCE QUESTIONS.

THE MANNER IN WHICH THE ALLIES DEAL WITH THESE ISSUES
WILL GIVE THE WORLD AT LARGE A SENSE OF THE STATE OF THE
ALLIANCE. THROUGHOUT, IT WILL BE IMPORTANT THAT THE ALLIES
CONVEY A FEELING OF UNITY, A DETERMINATION TO DEAL WITH
COMMON PROBLEMS, AND A RECOGNITION THAT A CONTINUING STRONG
DEFENSE POSTURE IS THE FUNDAMENTAL PRECONDITION FOR THE
SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATION OF EAST- WEST ISSUES.
THE DPC AND NAC COMMUNIQUE SHOULD REFLECT THESE REALITIES.
END SUMMARY.

1. IN ANALYZING THE FORTHCOMING DPC AND NAC MINISTERIALS,
WE WISH TO HIGHLIGHT BASIC THEMES WHICH COULD BE COMMON
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TO BOTH. IN BOTH MEETINGS, THE ALLIES WILL LOOK TO THE
US FOR LEADERSHIP. WHETHER OR NOT A " EUROPEAN" VOICE MAKES
ITSELF AUDIBLE, THE US SHOULD CONTINUE TO CHALLENGE
OUR ALLIES TO RESPOND ON THE ISSUES NOW RAISED AND THE
INITIATIVES PUT FORWARD. IN BOTH MEETINGS, AS WELL, IT
WILL BE IMPORTANT TO REINFORCE THOSE ELEMENTS IN ALLIED
GOVERNMENTS WHO SUPPORT THE MAINTENANCE, MODERNIZATION AND
IMPROVEMENT OF THE MILITARY FORCES THAT DEFEND NATO.

2. " THE YEAR OF EUROPE." DR. KISSINGER' S APRIL 23 SPEECH
HAS BEEN THE SUBJECT OF PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION AMONG THE
ALLIES. WE JUDGE IT UNLIKELY THAT THE ALLIES, BY THE TIME
OF THE MINISTERIALS, WILL HAVE DEVELOPED A COMMON POINT OF

VIEW, WHETHER OF THE EC-9 OR OTHERWISE. OUR EXPERIENCE, IN MANY DISCUSSIONS WITH ALLIED OFFICIALS, IS THAT INITIAL HESITATION, OR SKEPTICISM, OR EVEN OPPOSITION TO THE PROJECT CAN BE CHANGED BY EXPLAINING, BY RESPONDING TO QUESTIONS, BY CLEARING UP MISCONCEPTIONS, AND BY ENGAGING IN SOME OLD-FASHIONED SALESMANSHIP. THE RESULTS HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGING. THE COMING MEETINGS OFFER EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS TOWARD GOAL OF A NEW DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES FOR THE ALLIANCE.

3. AS IMPORTANT AS THE EXCHANGE OF VIEW WILL BE THE PR
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USNMR SHAPE

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 2561

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4. MBFR. THE ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES IN THE US MBFR PAPER ARE BEING CAREFULLY STUDIED BY OUR ALLIES, AND THE PROCESS OF FINDING AN AGREED ALLIED OUTCOME WILL CONTINUE AFTER THE MINISTERIAL. HOWEVER, THE PERMANENT COUNCIL WILL VERY LIKELY BE READY TO SUBMIT TO FOREIGN MINISTERS FOR CONSIDERATION AT

COPENHAGEN A SET OF INTERNAL GUIDELINES BASED ON THE
US PAPER. THESE GUIDELINES ARE INTENDED TO SERVE AS A GUIDE
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TOWARD SELECTION OF AN AGREED OUTCOME AND THE CONSTRUCTION
THEREAFTER OF A NEGOTIATING POSITION. THE US PRESENTATION
ON MBFR AT THE DPC AND NAC MINISTERIALS SHOULD BE DESIGNED
TO:

-- ESTABLISH A TIMETABLE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE
ALLIANCE SUBSTANTIVE POSITION;

-- FURTHER INFORM FOREIGN MINISTERS AND DEFENSE MINISTERS ON
THE SUBSTANTIVE DETAILS OF THE MBFR APPROACHES PAPER.

5. MAINTAINING ALLIED DEFENSE. ALLIED DEFENSE MINISTERS
FACE SIMILAR PROBLEMS IN FINDING THE WHEREWITHAL TO MAINTAIN
AND IMPROVE THEIR DEFENSE STRUCTURE. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT DPC
AND NAC MINISTERIAL MEETINGS REINFORCE THEIR EFFORTS IN THIS
DIRECTION AND PROVIDE PUBLIC OPINION AND PARLIAMENTS WITH A
CONVINCING DEMONSTRATION THAT A REINVIGORATED DEFENSE
EFFORT IS NECESSARY TO INSURE -- AT A BARE MINIMUM -- THAT
THE ALLIES CAN CONTINUE TO NEGOTIATE A SETTLEMENT OF DIFFERENCES
WITH THE EAST FROM A POSITION OF STRENGTH AND CONFIDENCE.

6. THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE SHOULD
USE THE MINISTERIAL MEETINGS TO UNDERSCORE THE US VIEW THAT
NATO CONVENTIONAL FORCE IMPROVEMENTS ARE NEEDED, EVEN WITH
MBFR; THAT MORE EQUITABLE BURDEN SHARING IN
DEFENSE WITH EMPHASIS ON EUROPEAN FORCE IMPROVEMENTS IS
ESSENTIAL; AND THAT THE ALLIES MUST COOPERATE WITH THE US IN
ELIMINATING ANY ADVERSE BOP CONSEQUENCES FROM STATIONED US
TROOPS IN EUROPE.

7. IN VIEW OF THE EXPOSURE OF THE ALLIES PRIOR TO THE DPC
AND NAC MINISTERIALS TO THE DIFFICULT DEFENSE QUESTIONS
RAISED IN THE PRESIDENT'S FOREIGN POLICY REPORT AND THE
KISSINGER SPEECH, US SPOKESMEN SHOULD BE PREPARED TO RESPOND
TO ALLIED QUERIES AS TO US THINKING ON THESE QUESTIONS.

8. WHAT IS NEEDED IS A DPC COMMUNIQUE, ECHOED WHERE POSSIBLE
BY NAC COMMUNIQUE, WHICH:

-- POINTS TO THE SUCCESS OF ALLIANCE SECURITY POLICIES.
ALLIANCE COUNTRIES REMAIN FREE, INDEPENDENT AND PROSPEROUS;
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-- RECORDS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN A SECURE, ADEQUATE
DEFENSE AND SUCCESS IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH EAST;

-- STRESSES IN PARTICULAR THE NEED TO MAINTAIN THE BUYING
POWER OF DEFENSE BUDGETS, ACQUIRE MORE MODERN MILITARY EQUIPMENT,
AND IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF ALLIED CONVENTIONAL FORCES;

-- EMPHASIZES THE IMPORTANCE OF EQUITABLE BURDEN SHARING
AND THE NEED TO INSURE THAT NO ALLY SUFFERS ANY BOP
DISADVANTAGE AS A CONSEQUENCE OF MEETING ITS NATO OBLIGATIONS;

-- MEETS THE CHALLENGE OF THE FUTURE BY UNDERTAKING TO
EXAMINE THE SIGNIFICANT DEFENSE ISSUES AS OUTLINED IN
PRESIDENT NIXON' S FOREIGN POLICY REPORT.
RUMSFELD

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